

LATER ROMAN EDUCATION
IN
AUSONIUS, CAPELLA AND THE
THEODOSIAN CODE

COLE



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THEODOSIAN CODE

WITH TRANSLATIONS AND COMMENTARY

BY

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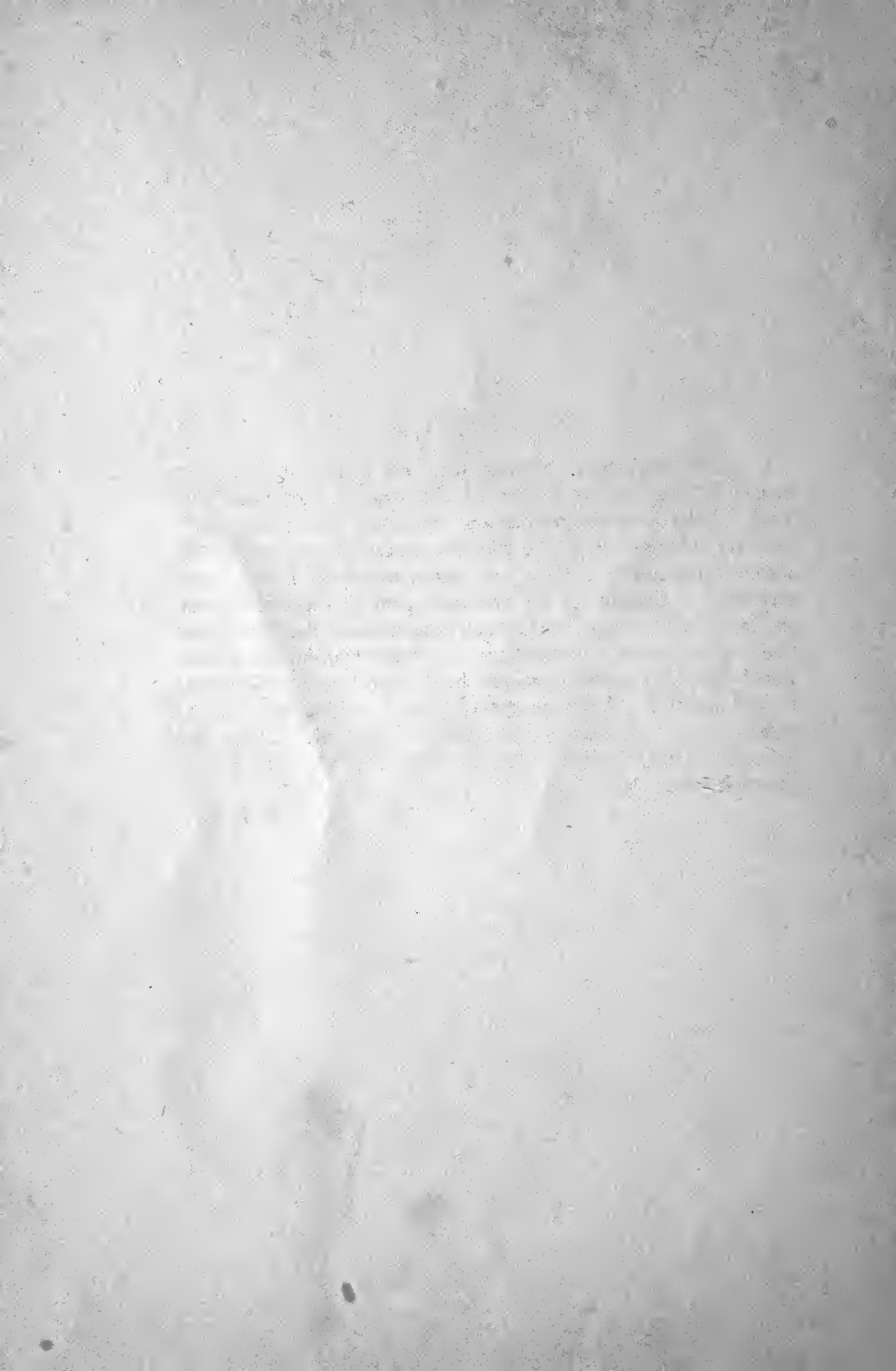
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INTRODUCTION

It is the misfortune of those who are interested in history in general, and in the history of education in particular, that many of the most interesting and important documents which we have inherited from the past are inaccessible except in the ancient languages. In these few pages, therefore, I have made accessible in English for the first time some of the more typical and important passages in Ausonius, Capella, and the Theodosian Code, which relate to education. To these translations I have added such brief explanations and biographical notices as seemed to be desirable. Although myself wholly responsible for the translations, I am indebted to Professor Gonzalez Lodge and Professor Paul Monroe of Teachers College for their valued assistance and advice.

P. R. C.



AUSONIUS

I

We should know nothing of the life of Ausonius were it not for his own poems, but these are in fact so studiously autobiographical that each of them celebrates, or takes the opportunity to introduce in an apparently casual manner, some event of his life; it may be his studies, his professorship, his tutorship of the youthful Cæsar, his colleagues in the Gallic universities, or his consulate. We learn that his father, Julius Ausonius, was an eminent physician of Bordeaux, one who had little or no political ambition, no greed of wealth, attending the poor gratuitously, and pleased to guide his life by the example of the seven Sages of Greece. Julius Ausonius was probably a pagan, and even the Christianity of the son was only skin-deep, never coloring his thought or diminishing his allusions to the pagan mythology, but only affording a pretext for a few perfunctory verses upon Easter.

D. Magnus Ausonius was born at Bordeaux about the year 309, and was educated in the city of his birth, and afterwards at Toulouse, under the auspices of his uncle the rhetorician Arborius. His studies were principally after the manner of the time, in Latin and Greek grammar, rhetoric and law. After essaying the practice of law Ausonius turned to the art of teaching, and accepted a chair of grammar at Bordeaux, in which he was eminently successful, finally becoming a rhetorician, and the most conspicuous teacher in Gaul. His fame reached the ears of Valentinian, who called him to the imperial court, entrusted him with the education of his young son Gratian, then a lad of eight years, and thus permitted him to compare himself with other tutors of princes, including the great Seneca, Fronto and Lactantius. It was perhaps at this time that Ausonius first professed himself a Christian, and the shallowness of his profession accorded perfectly with that of the emperor himself.

The good fortune of Ausonius gave a new impulse to his muse, and won him the friendship, besides, of such notables as Symmachus and Probus.

Gratian had barely emerged from the age of tutelage, when he succeeded in 375 to the government of the empire, and soon bestirred himself to reward his teacher. Ausonius became prefect of Africa and Italy, and afterwards of Gaul; and the sum of his honors was completed by the gift of the consulship for the year 379. But the downfall of his protector was near, and with the fall of Gratian Ausonius retired from court to the nest of his old age in Aquitaine, notwithstanding that apparently the favor of Theodosius also would have been extended towards him. Here he superintended the education of his grandson, wrote elegies to his parents and the professors of Bordeaux, and poems inspired by well-worn remnants of the ancient mythology; and here he may have died about the year 394. He lived in an age when true poetry was impossible; but his verses have delicacy and ingenuity, and traces of an original grace and love of natural beauty; and incidentally, they will be found to reflect a little light on the methods and character of contemporary Roman education.

II

In the first place, this tutor of royalty, this university professor of the fourth century, has bequeathed to posterity the following exhortation to his grandson on the studies of childhood (Idyll IV):

“Even the Muses have their sports. Mingled with their labours, my dear grandson, are periods of leisure. The imperious voice of the stern master does not always drive his pupils; but fixed hours preserve the alternations of recreation and study. It is enough for the boy with memory to have read with a will, then let him rest. The school is called by a Greek name,¹ to indicate that due leisure should be accorded to the laborious Muses. Since you are sure that play will come in its turn, learn gladly; for we give intervals to wipe out protracted fatigue. The zeal of a boy is wearied unless joyous holidays relieve his

¹ The original meaning being leisure.

days of severe work. Learn gladly, my grandson, and do not curse the bridle of a severe master. The aspect of a master is never terrible. Let him be gloomy and old, harsh of voice and always threatening with his furrowed brow, yet he will never be formidable to the pupil who has once become accustomed to his appearance. A child will love the wrinkles of his nurse, and avoid his mother. Grandsons prefer grandsires and trembling grandmothers, to whom the late-born are a new care, to their fathers. Chiron of Thessaly, who was half horse, did not terrify Achilles, son of Peleus; nor did the son of Amphitryon dread pine-bearing Atlas; but both these preceptors by gentleness and kindly speech conciliated the affections of their young pupils.

Thyself then do not tremble, though the school resound with many a blow, and thine old master wear a truculent countenance. Fear is a mark of degenerate spirits; but do thou stand firm and fearless; let not the cries, the sounding blows, and the fear of punishment, agitate thee from the morning hour, because he brandishes the ferrule his sceptre, because he is well furnished with rods, because he has treacherously trimmed his whip with a leather thong, and the benches hum with trembling groans. Forget the reputation of the place, and the scene of idle fears.

Already, following these counsels, your father and mother have assured the calm and happiness of my old age. You also, the first of my grandsons to bear in your childhood the name of your grandsire, to gladden the few days that fate still accords to me in my declining years, give me either deeds or at least hopes. Now I behold you as a boy, soon as a youth; and then as a man, if fate has so ordained; but if fate is envious, at the least I hope, and my prayers will not be in vain, that you will not forget your father's example and my own, that you will seek the arduous rewards of the Muses, being eloquent and one day entering on the path in which we have preceded you, and in which are now walking your father the pro-consul, and the prefect your uncle.

Study all that is worth remembering. I shall recommend each author. You are to read thoroughly the composer of the *Iliad*, and the works of dear Menander. With inflexions and intonations of the voice put measure into the measures, and use correct

accentuation. Mark the moods as you read; discrimination adds to the impression, and pauses give vigor to weak passages. When will these gifts gladden my old age? When will you renew for me so many forgotten poems, and histories linked from age to age, and the socks and robes of kings,² and melic and lyric measures? When will you make young again the enervated senses of an old man? While you go before me, my grandson, I can learn a second time the modulated poems of Flaccus, and lofty-sounding Virgil. You also, O Terence, who adorn with chosen speech the Latin tongue, and tread the stage with tightly drawn sock,³ conduct my worn-out memory to dialogues almost new to it. And now I read your crime, O Catiline, and the insurrection of Lepidus, and anon leaving Lepidus and Catulus I now read the story of affairs and life at Rome during twelve years; I read the war half-foreign, half-civil, which the exiled Sertorius waged in company with his Iberian allies.

And this advice I do not give as an ignorant grandsire, but as one experienced in teaching a thousand minds. I myself have nourished many in their suckling years, cherishing them in my bosom, and teaching them to speak; I have plucked their tender years from their fond nurses. Then I have attracted them as boys by gentle admonition and a moderate fear to seek pleasure through difficulty, and to pluck the sweet fruits of a bitter root. And as they become men under the impulse of the age of puberty, I have guided them towards morality, the fine arts and the force of eloquence, although they declined to give obedience to the yoke, or to offer their mouth for the insertion of the bit. A difficult moderation, a hard experience, a rare success to be expected only after long trial, a gentle censure to rule intractable youth—I had much to bear until my sorrow became a pleasure, and my labour was softened by habit and use; and then I was called to the pious task of educating a prince,⁴ and was invested with various honours, and had the right to command in golden palaces. May Nemesis pardon me, and Fortune tolerate my jests! I presided over the empire,

² *i. e.* tragedy and comedy.

³ *i. e.* finished comedy.

⁴ Gratian.

when Augustus was still a boy and though he had the purple, the sceptre and the throne, submitted to the commands of his teacher, thinking my honours greater than his own. Reaching maturity he increased these honours by a sublime addition, when I was created quaestor by the two emperors, father and son, and was endowed with a double prefecture, a curule chair, a robe of state,⁵ and a painted toga as the reward of my labours, and finally became consul, and my name was placed first on the calendar in my year.⁶ Thus I have tried to win as great an honour as possible for my grandson, and my life will be the torch to lighten yours. Although you are already distinguished by your father's name, which may well be an honour and responsibility to you, yet a marked honour comes from me also; but let it not be a burden to you, rather aspire to win to the heights by your own efforts, and if you become consul, owe the fasces to yourself."

III

Gaul was the home of Ausonius, and in his day the home of learning. In his own words, Gaul had his love, Rome his worship. Among the poet's works there is a series of *commemorations* of the professors of Bordeaux, his birthplace, of which the first, perhaps, will serve as a sufficiently good example, as it is not least characteristic of the academic standards and interests of the day. This then is an elegy addressed to *Tiberius Victor Minervius, orator*.

"My first speech is of you, Minervius, O pride of Bordeaux, second Quintilian of the rhetorical toga. Your teaching formerly shed lustre on Constantinople and Rome, and latterly on your native land, not that it can compare with the majesty of those cities, but I prefer its name, because it is my native land. Let Calagurris⁷ boast its native Fabius; yet the chair of Bordeaux is not inferior. It has given to the forum a thousand youths; it has added two thousand to the numbers of the senate, to the numbers of the purple toga, myself included; but I shall

⁵ *trabeam*.

⁶ *i. e.* the name Ausonius was written before that of his colleague in indicating the year.

⁷ Calahorra, the birthplace of Quintilian.

not speak of the numerous wearers of the purple toga, but will sing of you for your own sake, not for the honor that I owe to you. If you are compared with the panegyrists, you should be numbered among the panathenaics; if you care to develop the fictitious controversies of the schools, Quintilian has but a disputed palm. You have a flow of words like a torrent, yet one which rolls down gold and not a flood of mire; and the talent which Demosthenes thrice called the first thing in an orator⁸ is so potent in you that he himself is surpassed by you. Shall I refer also to that divine gift of nature, your memory? You would hold fast in your mind anything you had once heard or read, so that people could rely upon your ear as upon a book. Once I saw you enumerate all the throws of the game⁹ after a long contest, all the dice that were poured forth in rapid rotation by the steps cut out in the hollow boxtree, narrating with exactness all the points played or recalled in that prolonged period. No malice ever darkened your soul, your tongue was witty and spicy,¹⁰ but gentle and without bitterness. Your table was distinguished in a way not culpable according to the censorial regulations, such as Frugi Piso would not have disowned as his. Sometimes on your birthday or on festal occasions it displayed abundance, but never such as to impair your moderate fortune. Though dying heirless at sixty years, you are mourned by us as a father and a friend. And now, if there is aught of us left after our last fate, you still live mindful of the life which has perished; but if nothing is left, if the long rest of death have no sensations, you have lived unto yourself, and our consolation is your fame."

In the estimation of Ausonius, and of men of culture in his day, the title of *Grammaticus* was extremely honorable. Under these circumstances it was not unnatural that the attempts of pseudo-grammarians to claim the name were regarded with jealous disfavor. Ausonius looked upon such impostors in the same way as a modern university graduate regards the man who has purchased his degree, not earned it. It must have been in this spirit that his epigram to Philomusus the grammarian

⁸ *i. e.* action. Cf. Quintilian, Book XI, Ch. 3; Cicero *de Oratore* Book III, section 56.

⁹ *Omnes bolos.*

¹⁰ *sale multo.*

was written: "Because your library is stuffed with books that you have bought, do you think yourself a savant and a grammarian, O Philomusus? According to this reasoning, you have only to provide cords, bows and instruments, and to-morrow will see you a musician."¹¹ It was not that the grammarian was a lucky fellow, that men should imitate him so. "The fortunate man is not a grammarian; he never was so, and no grammarian was ever described as fortunate. But if in spite of fate, there was ever a fortunate grammarian, he must have passed beyond the canons of grammar."¹² The grammarian of course taught Virgil's epic, high among his courses of lectures; and this is the cry of the unhappy husband, grammarian though he be: "Though I teach *arms and the man*, and know *arms and the man well*, I have married *arms* rather than a wife."¹³

From a social point of view, upon the whole, to be a *grammaticus* was no slight distinction; it was to be a university professor of recognized academic status; and many a candidate for such a position must have lived and died a sub-doctor or assistant professor, a mere *proscholus*. Accordingly Ausonius writes of such an assistant professor, Victorius, a man apparently addicted to antiquarian researches, in these not uninteresting words which follow. (We know little or nothing of the Castor and Rhodope of the text, whose books, though apparently still in existence at the time, were already rare.)

"Studious Victorius, gifted with memory and facility, an assiduous reader of unknown books, perusing only what is recondite, you care more for studying papers eaten by bookworms and mice than for those that are more familiar. The pontifical law, the treaties and origin, before the time of Numa, of Cures the city of sacrifices; what Castor says of all the little known kings; what Rhodope published of her husband's writings; our pontifical law; the decrees of the ancient Quirites; those of the senate; the laws of Draco and Solon; those which Zaleucus gave to the Locrians; those of Minos under Jupiter; those of Themis before Jupiter; are better known to you than the books of our Cicero and Virgil, and the facts of the history of Latium. Per-

¹¹ Epigram XLIV.

¹² Epigram CXXXVI.

¹³ Epigram CXXXVII.

haps further reading would have given you these also, if Lachesis had not accelerated your last journey. You had but the bare libation of the name of grammaticus, the mere varnish of the honor of our chair. You died finally on the distant coasts of Rome, whither you had crossed from the Sicilian shore. But now rejoice, if this pious tribute reaches your Manes, for you are remembered in the company of celebrated masters."

The labors of an educated Roman included a good deal more, in one respect at least, than the work of a modern scholar. He was at his wits' end to get copies of books, and again, his friends would request copies of such as he had, and would expect to have them, not infrequently, within an unreasonably short period of time. Ausonius, poor man, had to write to the pretorian prefect Probus: "O most worthy Probus, the copyists have caused me delay, and I know that I have kept you waiting so long that you will not thank me for the fulfilment of my promise. Fortunately, however, I have not failed you. I have sent your nobility the 'Apologues' of Titian and the 'Chronicles' of Nepos, which are a sort of apologues too, since they are very like fables, and I am glad, nay proud, that my efforts to serve you will contribute something to the education of your children." The slaves who were unfortunate enough to be employed as copyists were probably driven early and late, so that, sometimes, they would run away, although the work of a clerk must have been preferable in many ways to that of a laborer in the field. Ausonius has some epigrams on one of these fellows, named Pergamus. "As lazy a writer as you are a slow runner, Pergamus, you have fled only to be taken in the first couple of hundred yards. So, Pergamus, you bear the marks of writing on your face, and your forehead carries the letters neglected by your hand." This was indeed a cruel jest, for the wretched copyist had evidently been branded with a hot iron. But the epigrammatic Ausonius goes on to remark that an injustice had been perpetrated, the innocent forehead suffering for the hands, guilty of idleness, and the feet, of running away.

Far more pleasant is it to turn to some verses of appreciation written to a really excellent clerk, who was evidently a stenographer, as indeed it appears from many references that shorthand writing was practised by the Roman scribes, long

before the time of Ausonius.¹⁴ "Slave, skilful minister of swift notes, come hither. Open the double page of thy tablets, where a great number of words, each expressed by different points, is written like a single word. I go through great volumes; and like dense hail the words are hurled from my noisy lips, but thine ears are not troubled, nor is thy page filled. Thy hand, scarcely moving, flies over the surface of the wax, but if my speech runs into a long circumlocution, you put the ideas on the tablets as if I had already spoken them. I wish my mind had as swift a flight as your right hand when you anticipate my words. Who, pray, has betrayed me? Who has told you what I was just meditating about saying? How does your winged right hand steal the secrets of my inmost thoughts? What is this order of things so new that what the tongue has not yet uttered has come to your ears? Schooling has not taught you this; no other hand is so skilled at swift abbreviation. Nature and God have bestowed this gift upon you, to know beforehand what I am going to say and to anticipate my desires."¹⁵

¹⁴ See especially Manilius, *Astronom.* Bk. IV, V. 197.

¹⁵ Epigram CXLVI.

MARTIANUS CAPELLA

I

There are some men of whom we should care to know little, if the intrinsic merit of their work were the only thing concerned, but of whom we cannot know enough, because of the influence that they have exerted upon the subsequent course of human affairs. Such a one is Martianus Minneius Felix Capella, the author, it is said, of the most successful textbook ever written, of whom if we conclude that he was an advocate, resided at Carthage, and wrote between 410 and 429 A. D., we have determined not less but rather more than is known by positive evidence. As to when he wrote, there is indeed the greatest diversity of opinion, but it appears to have been while Carthage flourished and had proconsuls, and if so, before 429, when Genseric landed in Africa and led his host of Vandals to the capture of the city (439). Capella appears on the other hand to have alluded to the capture of Rome by Alaric in 410, but the interpretation of this passage is at the least doubtful. One can only conclude with certainty, that since he used the works of Aquila Romanus and Aristides Quintilianus, Martianus must have written subsequent to the third century, and probably subsequent to Augustine's book on the liberal arts, published in 387.

In the pages of any other author, writing at the beginning of the fifth century, it would have been strange to find no mention of Christianity, but it is not strange in Martianus. Prolix and self-satisfied, he seems to have cared less for the historical events that were going on about him than even the Christian writers of those times; and indeed, although the Roman Empire, as we have been accustomed to consider it, was toppling to ruins all about him, it is a fact that neither he nor other writers of the time appear to have grasped or appreciated the mighty phenomenon. His only care is to amuse himself and his readers with neo-Platonic mythology and allegory; and facts and

events have little interest for him except as symbols. The empirical details which he was compelled to include in his work upon the several liberal arts were too tiresome to occupy much of his personal attention, and it was fortunate, perhaps, for succeeding generations, that Capella preferred to cull them directly from Varro as to grammar, dialectic, geometry and astronomy, from Aquila Romanus upon rhetoric, from Solinus and Pliny on geometry and geography, and from Aristides Quintilianus on music.

The "Marriage of Philology and Mercury" is the title of the extant work of Martianus, but the true occasion of this strange ceremony, one reluctantly admits, is no more than the compilation of a textbook. The author appears to have drawn his personal satisfaction from the composition of the allegorical setting of the books on the arts, wherein he is pedantically allegorical and obscurely humorous; while the actual subject matter, as has been suggested, was compiled from older Latin sources. But most of the writers of the fourth century dearly loved to mingle sterile facts with fantastic allegories; therefore if Martianus amused himself in this way, it was but natural. And consequently, why not take his facts from the nearest older textbook? For in those days of dogmatic temper, and a scarcity of books, it was barely possible to question the veracity of the written word. Seldom indeed did the verdict of experience presume to compete with the sanctity of a written authority. This attitude of the later Romans has been attributed to the influence of the Christian doctrine; on the contrary, however, it was characteristically both Greek and Roman, from the time when Theophrastus succeeded Aristotle in the government of the Lyceum, and inherited his master's books. Martianus, then, troubled no more to investigate his facts than frequently does the writer of a modern textbook for schools. Moreover, he made many mistakes, which may have been due to either haste or ignorance. But, when all is said, he could not go far astray with the formalism of grammar, dialectic and rhetoric, as long as he copied the words of his originals carefully on the paper.

There is something ungrateful about discussing an author whom you cannot praise, something paradoxical about translating him at all, if there is no good in him. For why not be

patient until someone arises to treat his work appreciatively? On the other hand, in the case of Martianus these arguments are not conclusive, for what is intrinsically trivial becomes historically of the greatest importance, and the "Marriage of Philology and Mercury" continued to be the principal fountain of the learning of the schools of western Europe during several centuries. And again, if one should wait for another to appreciate Martianus, before translating him, it is very probable that his work may never come into English at all. He is not wholly uninteresting, even to the modern reader, for his allegory is strange enough to attract attention, and in his accounts of the liberal arts one is brought face to face with an odd mixture of the curious and the familiar.

To expect originality of Martianus is as unfair as it is futile. There was no originality either in himself or his times. The fact is, perhaps, that apart from science, which was foreign to the spirit of the day, there was nothing new for the unfortunate Romans of the decadence to think about, except theological dogma. For, with that exception, the earlier Greek philosophers had exhausted all the speculative questions of the natural and supernatural worlds. Indeed, as I imagine, one of the reasons, though doubtless a minor one, that the scholars of the middle ages gave over philosophy for theology, was that theology represented a more virgin wood, not yet denuded of its attractive foliage. Thus, had Martianus been a theologian, he might easily have diversified his argument by a more powerful motive than allegory. For example, he might have exercised his imagination, like Augustine, by speculations on the probable scheme of eternal punishment or the nature of the happiness of the blessed; or again he might have proceeded with a series of easy refutations of heresies, or the elaboration of a diversity of picturesque phrases of invective. This would have been in the spirit of the contemporary Christian literature, which had in its favor emotion if not reason, strength if not mercy. For, far as the precepts of the later Latin fathers were removed from those of the original gospels, they infused into the Christian literature a simplicity, naturalness and vigor that the work of a pagan writer of the fourth century, such as Martianus Capella, could not possibly have reproduced. Martianus had only his allegory

to sustain the interest of his readers, and his own, and even in the allegory he merely succeeded in ringing the changes on the ideas and the mythology of earlier and greater masters. Thus, on the whole, Martianus achieved the obscurity of symbolism without its beauty, and just as the form of his occasional verse is more or less disfigured by errors, so the allegorical movement of the whole work is impaired by numerous lapses into the crudest improprieties of literary expression.

In reading the book of Martianus an almost absolute distinction ought to be drawn between the character of the setting, which was mainly his own, and that of the material for study, which was incorporated, not without error, from other sources. As the first two books are given to the setting alone, and are entirely allegorical, these are more original than the others, but in so far as one may speak of their originality at all, it consists only in giving new forms and combinations to other people's facts and ideas. Apparently Martianus had at first intended to limit his allegory to the first two books, as in the verse at the end of the second book he affirms the termination of the myth; but immediately the child of his imagination claims his sympathy once more, and regulates the tone and form of the work until the very end, where music, as is proper, conducts the bride to the nuptial couch. Meantime apart from the setting, the seven later books have been sufficiently well described, I do not know where, as "strictly instructive, and sapless as the rods of mediaeval schoolmasters," for by their side the scholasticism of the later middle ages, much abused as it has been, would almost appear to a reader to be fresh, humane and beautiful.

II

AN ANALYSIS OF THE MARRIAGE OF PHILOLOGY AND MERCURY¹

There is no doubt that Martianus was not a Christian; his work consequently does not enter into the limits of our study; none the less I wish to devote a few lines to him, because of the considerable influence which he has exercised upon not only

¹Translated from Ebert.

the scientific but even the æsthetic culture of the middle ages. Above all, it is his allegories that have contributed towards this result, as it is these also which throw a sort of veil over the paganism of the author. In the middle ages, his work was for a long time one of the principal bases, and often even the only basis of the education of the schools. Composed of nine books, it is written in the form of the Menippean satire; but prose occupies a larger place in it. The first two books are entirely devoted to myth and allegory; and here, in brief, is the story which the author relates to his son. Mercury wishes to marry. After having sighed in vain for Sophie, Mantice and Psyche who refuse him, he is advised by Virtue to address himself to Apollo, who proposes to him Philology, the most learned daughter of the family of the ancients, a friend of Parnassus, and one who knows the mysteries of the lower world as well as the will of Jupiter, the depths of ocean as well as the kingdom of the stars; in a word, she is encyclopedic knowledge. Mercury accepts the proposition, and Virtue is delighted by it. All three then, accompanied by the Muses and amidst the music of the spheres, wend their way through the skies and penetrate into the palace of Jupiter, whom they find with his spouse. Apollo explains to him the wishes of Mercury. Jupiter raises a difficulty about agreeing, and Pallas proposes to assemble in council "the gods already married and the goddesses venerable in their age" (*et dearum grandaevae*), and to submit this matter to their decision. The author here draws a picture of this assembly of the gods, among whom are found on an equal footing several purely allegorical characters from later Roman mythology, such as Valitudo, Verisfructus and Celeritas, while Discordia and Seditio are refused admission. On the proposal of Jupiter, the assembly decides in favor of Mercury; but it is necessary that his bride should be raised to the rank of the gods; this privilege will be moreover henceforth granted to mortals who shall have done noble deeds. Philosophy has to announce to the world the decision of the supreme senate, a decision which is engraven on tables of brass.

Such is the ground-work of the first book. In the second, we see the appearance of the bride, who manifests fears on the subject of her union with a god, in spite of the great love

which she has for him; but after a long calculation, she recognizes, by the numbers which form her name and that of her betrothed, that this marriage is very suitable for her. Her mother Phronesis prepares her dress for the ceremony, and binds her own girdle about her. The Muses sing in her honor; and four venerable women, the four cardinal Virtues, come and salute her. The three Graces approach in their turn, one kisses her on the forehead, another on the mouth, and the third on the breast, in order to give grace to her looks, her tongue and her heart (*animus*). Athanasia, the daughter of Apotheosis, afterwards appears to accompany Philology in the heavens. But she has first, by command of Athanasia, to get rid of a burden which inordinately enlarges her breast. She resigns herself, though with regret, to surrender a great quantity of books, which are gathered up by young maidens, themselves aided by the Muses Urania and Calliope. After having drained the cup of immortality which Apotheosis presents to her, the bride ascends to heaven on a sedan chair. She first meets Juno Pronuba, to whom she makes a sacrifice and addresses a prayer. Juno now assumes her guidance and introduces her to a knowledge of the celestial regions and their inhabitants. After having made the circuit of the stars, the bride finally comes to the milky way where the palace of Jupiter is found. Seated in the midst of the gods, he awaits the bridal pair. Then Mercury appears, and is given a seat near Pallas; then comes in her turn the bride, who modestly takes her place beside the Muses. Her mother at length demands the reading of the Poppean law and the production of the wedding presents of the bride. Then Phoebus rises to introduce particularly the maidens who are in his brother's service and who actually form a part of the wedding gifts. These are the seven liberal arts; they appear, in due turn, in the seven following books of the work, each of which is devoted to one of the arts; their order is exactly that which they later occupy in the *trivium* and *quadrivium*: 1, Grammar; 2, Dialectic; 3, Rhetoric; 4, Geometry; 5, Arithmetic; 6, Astronomy; and 7, Harmony (that is to say Music).

After having given in each case a description of the whole exterior, that is to say of the physiognomy of expression, clothes and instruments, the author traces a symbolic and allegoric pic-

ture of the particular art; Mercury's young maidens then themselves expound a summary idea of their science, in chapter form and in a style exceedingly dry. Here the author proceeds in a completely arbitrary way; sometimes he is sparing of details, sometimes he lavishes them; sometimes he omits whole branches of these arts. However, he preserves throughout the work the limits of his tale; not only does the public, composed of the gods, call upon the Arts to begin to speak, but even invites them to silence; also one finds some of these celestial hearers amusing themselves by making remarks after the lesson, and expressing in more or less lively terms the ennui that they have experienced; in short, each tries to get in a quip. Because of the lateness of the hour, Medicine and Architecture are refused a hearing. The night has almost come, when music comes forth last to give a discourse; as soon as she has finished, she accompanies the bride to the nuptial chamber, singing a lullaby. It only remains finally for the author to take leave of his readers in some verses. Such is the structure of this work, which, by its arrangement, gave such pleasure to the middle ages, and in which the most bizarre imagination was allied with the most arid intellect.

III

AN EXTRACT FROM BOOK IV, ON DIALECTIC¹

Binding her propositions in intricate knots, she without whom there is neither sequence nor opposition in argumentation, coming into the assembly of the gods, brings forward the fundamental principles of speech and lays the foundation of the propositions of the schools, calling to mind that an expression consists of ambiguous words, and that nothing is normal, unless it is associated. But although pale Aristotle speaking in ten categories impetuously change his moods, although the Stoic sophisms circumvent and mock the senses, although they bear the never lost horns on the forehead,² although Chrysippus accumulate and consume his own sorites, and although Carneades wield equal power

¹ Ed. Kopp, Frankfort-on-Main, 1836, pp. 325-341. Cf. Teubner text.

² Referring to the ancient sophism: "What you have not lost you have; you have not lost horns, therefore you have horns."

with the aid of hellebore,³ yet no such dignity has ever fallen to the children of men, nor has such a happy lot befallen thee: for now, *Dialectica*, thou mayst speak in the temples of the gods, and practise the laws of thy teaching in the sight of Jove.⁴

Thereupon entered at the call of Apollo a woman rather pale, but very keen of sight and with vibrant eyes continually in motion. Her locks were curly, with becoming waves, and had the appearance of being crimped and bound, yet they were let down in certain regular steps and encircled the whole form of the head so that they seemed to be neither too scant nor too abundant. She wore indeed the cloak and garment of Athens, but she carried something in her hands that was strange and quite untried in any gymnasium. For in her left hand a serpent was coiled in monstrous folds; inside her right certain formulae skilfully devised on flowering tablets, charmingly variegated, were held beneath by the curve of a hidden hook. But since she hid the insidious reptiles under her cloak in her left hand, she offered her right to everybody. Thus if any one took any of these formulae, he was soon seized by the hook and drawn to the venomous folds of the hidden snake, which quickly emerging first wounded him with eager bites by the venomous point of his piercing tooth, and then surrounded him with a number of folds and constrained him to the conditions offered to him; but if anyone did not wish to accept any of the formulae, she either caught them with certain contrary questions or quietly stimulated the snake to creep against them, until the binding folds strangled their captives according to the will of the questioner. But the woman herself was slight of figure, and dusky in her dress,⁵ but her hair was like brier-thorns and she spoke somewhat that is unintelligible to the vulgar. For she asserted that the universal is dedicative to the particular, but in transverse opposition to the abdicative, and that both can be converted, by connecting equivocal with univocal,⁶ and she declared

³ Carneades the academician when about to write a polemic against the books of the Stoic Zeno is said to have used hellebore as a purgative, so that no crass humors in the stomach might distract his mind or diminish its powers.

⁴ Thus far the metrical invocation. A prose description follows.

⁵ Probably signifying the obscurity of the art.

⁶ This sample of technical logical jargon is evidently chosen with the deliberate intent to create a formidable impression.

that she alone could discern the true and the false as though by a kind of gift of divination. She said that she had been educated on the rock of Egypt, and then had descended to the school of Parmenides and Greece, and by proposing to speak on either side of a question had arrogated to herself the greatness of a Socrates and a Plato. Why then, said Bacchus, the most jocular of the gods and one who did not know *Dialectica* very well, since the twin snake of Mercury rising on his staff attempted to lick her, versed as she was in argumentation and boasting in her victories over many, with frequent and rapid flashes of his tongue, and then also the Tritonian Gorgon hissed with the joy of recognition, doubtless she has either been brought here from the sands of gasping Libya, as her twisted hair and friendship for snakes testify, or else we must credit her with being a poison-monger of the Marsic nation. For in viprous caressing recognition she is loved with the adulation of snakes, or if not, she is caught by the trick of the hook yonder, because that most seductive circlet is also an inhabitant of the Marsic territories. When most of the gods had laughed at this as much as was proper,⁷ Pallas a little annoyed forbade the ridicule of the newcomer, suggesting that this sober personage (a thing that could not be said of some of the gods⁸) could be derided by none when once she had brought forward her propositions, even among kinsfolk that may be expected to be critical. And then Pallas ordered *Dialectica* to tell what she had related in the trial of venomous assertion and bitterness, and to put herself in readiness to instil her wisdom. Then when Grammar, who having got through her discussion was standing near, feared to take the circled coils and gaping mouths of the slippery snake, they were entrusted to the goddess herself, who had tamed even the Medusa's hair, with their seductive figures and hooked formulae. Then by the dressing of her hair she was proven to be genuinely Athenian and Attic, especially as the wearers of the pallium and the choice of the Athenian youth follow her, wondering at the wisdom and mental power she displays. But Jupiter, who thought that the superficiality of the Greeks was

⁷ Compare Plato, *Republic* 3, *Laws* 5; and Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 4, 8, 10, for the classical view of the indecency of immoderate laughter.

⁸ Alluding to Bacchus.

inferior to the Roman strength, not only when it came to the practise but even the judgment of virtues, commanded her to express her knowledge in the Latin tongue. Then Dialectica, although she thought that she could not do herself justice in Latin, with ready confidence, her aspect rendered formidable even before she spoke by the vibrant tension of her eye, thus began:

Were I not assisted by the learning and industry of Varro, a man famous among the glories of Rome, as a woman of the Greek nation I might be found very unskilled or barbarous upon an examination of my way of speaking Latin. For after the golden stream of Plato and the genius of Aristotle the work of Marcus Terentius (Varro) was the first to entice me into speaking Latin, and to make it possible to speak in the Ausonian⁹ schools. Striving therefore to be consistent with these principles, I shall not refuse to speak in Latin. And first I wish it understood that the Romans, wearers of the toga, could not have yet prepared a new vocabulary for my purposes, and therefore it is quite justifiable if I use the terminology for the science of dialectic that I am accustomed to in Athens, however the other arts express themselves. For, as nobody doubts, neither Grammar, whom your ears have heard, nor she who is renowned for the gift of the fertile mouth,¹⁰ nor she who outlines the diversity of forms with a stick in the dust,¹¹ could be explained without my ratiocinations. For within my power and sway are six principles that are fundamental to the other arts. The first is speech,¹² the second interpretation,¹³ the third propositions,¹⁴ the fourth the sum of propositions,¹⁵ the fifth judgment, concerned with the criticism of the poets and their songs, the sixth as to what it is suitable for rhetoricians to say. Now in the first part the questions must be asked, what is genus, what form, difference, accident, property, definition, the whole, the part, the mode of division, the mode of partition, the equivocal the univocal, and so to speak the plurivocal. Indeed you ought

⁹ *i. e.* Latin.

¹⁰ Rhetoric.

¹¹ Geometry. (Compare the occupation of Archimedes in Livy 25, 31.)

¹² *de loquendo*.

¹³ *de eloquendo (de interpretatione)*.

¹⁴ *de proloquendo*.

¹⁵ *i. e.* the syllogism.

to bear with these unusual terms, since you have compelled a Greek to speak Latin. Thus the first part of our division will consider what words are literal, what metaphorical, and in how many ways they may be metaphorical, what are substance, quality, quantity, relativity, place, time, situation, character,¹⁸ doing, suffering, opposites, and how many kinds of opposition there may be. But in the second, concerning interpretation, we shall ask what is a noun, a verb, the two in conjunction, which of them is the substantive and which the predicative part of the sentence, how far the noun is accepted, how far the verb, how far the sentence is perfect, so as to be a proposition. The third part, on propositions, follows this. In it the investigation is made, as far as time allows, as to how propositions differ in quantity and quality, what is a universal, a particular, an indefinite proposition, what are affirmative and negative propositions, what force have particulars, and how do they affect each other. Then follows the fourth part, which as we have said deals with the sum of propositions. In it the questions are asked, what is an assumption, an inference, a syllogism, a conclusion; what is a predicative syllogism, what a conditional, and what is the difference between them; how many forms are of the predicative kind, and what are they; do they follow a certain order, and if so, what is its nature; how many moods has each and have these moods a certain sequence, and if so what is its nature; finally what are the primary and necessary moods of the conditional syllogism, what is their order, and how do they differ from each other. I think that this is enough for our present theme and thesis. I shall first indicate what *genus* is, going back to the beginning in order to run over the whole field.

Genus is the comprehension of many forms under a single name, as *animal*, whose forms are man or horse or the like. But sometimes certain forms comprehended under a genus are such that they themselves may be in the relation of genus to other forms, as the genus *man*, which is a form to *animal*, but a genus to *barbarians* and *Romans*. And one may go on dividing the forms of a genus in this way until one comes to an individual thing. For if you divide *man* into male and female, *male* into young and old, *young* into those who can and those

¹⁸ *Habitus*, any state of acquired perfection.

who cannot speak, and if then you divide the young into Ganymede or any other youth of a known character, then he is not a genus, because we have now come to an individual. But we ought to use whatever genus is nearest to the business in hand, so that if the question is about *man*, we ought to assume his genus to be *animal*, because that is the most relevant.

By *forms* we mean the same as what we call species. Forms therefore are such that when substituted for the genus they retain its essence and name, as man, horse, lion; for since these are forms of animal, both man, horse and lion can be called animal, and their name and substance participate in the essence that is ascribed by definition to the genus.

Difference is a discrimination adequate for the purpose in hand, as if it be asked what is the difference between *man* and *horse*, it is sufficient to say that man is a biped and the horse a quadruped. But we ought to notice that since there are many differences in individual things, anything may be differentiated in as many different ways as we can find differences. For if we wished to divide *animal*, we can do so as to sexes, since some are male and others female; as to age because some are infantile, others youthful, others old; as to size because some are small, others large, others middling; as to modes of locomotion because some walk, others creep, swim or fly; as to diversity of habitation because some are aquatic while others are dwellers on the earth or in the air, and some say even in the fire; or we can divide them by their utterance, since some talk, others groan, bark or yell. Yet we should see that each division is perfect and that everything is included in the particulars. For male animals may be new-born, small, walking, terrestrial, bipeds and talkers all at once. Therefore you may use what differentiation you please, but it ought to be suited to the purpose in hand. Thus if you are to speak in praise of mankind, it is advisable to divide animals into rational and irrational, so that it may be readily seen how high among the animals has nature set men, to whom alone she has granted powers of reasoning adapted to self-knowledge.

Accident is what does not occur except in a certain species, yet does not always occur even in that species, as rhetoric only

belongs to man, but need not belong to him, since anyone may be a man without being an orator.

Property is what occurs, and occurs invariably in the same species, so as to distinguish anything from what is common to all things, as laughter in man. For neither can anyone but a man laugh, nor can a man avoid laughing according to his nature even if he should so wish. *Difference* is distinguished from property in that difference distinguishes anything only from the subject under discussion, whereas property distinguishes it from everything else. For if we wished to discriminate *man* from *lion* as to violence, by the fact that a lion is ferocious and a man gentle, we only discriminate as to what concerns the business in hand. For in calling the lion fierce and man mild we do not separate man from other gentle animals, nor the lion from other beasts, but when we have called man a laughing animal we have discriminated him thereby from the generality of other living creatures.

Definition is the clear and brief explication of the inner meaning of anything. In defining, three things are to be avoided, the false, the greater and the less. The false is in this wise: man is an immortal or an irrational animal. For though it be true that man is an animal, it is false that he is immortal or irrational. The greater is this wise: man is a mortal animal. For although this is concise, it is too extensive, because it applies to all animals. The less is indicated in this form: man is a grammatical animal. For though no animal except man is grammatical, yet not every man is a grammarian. The perfect definition is this: man is a rational and mortal animal. For by adding *mortal* we have separated him from the gods, and by adding *rational*, from the beasts.

IMPERIAL EDICTS

WITH REGARD TO PROFESSORS, GRAMMARIANS, DOCTORS, AND STUDENTS¹

I

THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS TO VOLUSIANUS

We ordain that doctors, grammarians and other professors of letters, and the goods which they possess in their cities, shall be exempt from taxation and shall have the honors due to their functions. We forbid their citation to court, or the infliction of any injury upon them. If anyone harasses them, he shall pay one hundred thousand *nummi* to the treasury, exacted by the magistrates or the quinquennials, or else they themselves shall be subject to this penalty. If a slave has done them injury, he shall be beaten with rods by his master in the presence of the injured party; but if the master shall have consented to the injury, he shall pay twenty thousand pieces to the treasury, and the slave shall be retained as a pledge until this sum is paid. We order that their goods and salaries shall be duly paid. And since like parents, masters and tutors they ought not to be loaded with onerous offices, we permit them to fulfil public offices if they are willing; but we do not compel them to do so contrary to their inclination. Given on the Kalends of August, at Sirmium, in the consulate of Crispus and Constantinus, Caesars (1st August, 321 A. D.).

II

THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS TO THE PEOPLE

In confirmation of the benefits of our divine predecessors, we ordain that doctors and professors of letters, with their wives

¹ Translated from Cod. Theodos. Book XIII. tit. 3, li. 1, 3 and 10; Book XIV, tit. 9, li. 1. Cf. Appendix, Œuvres Complètes d'Ausone, tome II., seconde serie de la bibliothèque latine-française, v. 5.

and children, shall be exempt from every public function and from all public charges. They shall not be forced into military duty, they shall not have people billeted upon them, nor discharge any function of a public character; in order that they may the more readily instruct many students in liberal studies and in the arts to which we have referred. Given the fifth day of the Kalends of October, at Constantinople, in the consulate of Dalmatius and of Zenophilus (27th September, 333 A. D.).

III

THE EMPERORS VALENTINE, VALENS AND GRATIAN, AUGUSTI,
TO PRINCIPIUS, PRAEFECT OF THE CITY

Let all men know that immunity is granted to the doctors and the professors of the city of Rome, so that even their wives may rest exempt from all disquietude; they shall be free from all public charges, they shall not be forced into military service, and soldiers shall not be billeted upon them. Given the third day of the Kalends of May, in the third consulate of Valentinian and Valens, Augusti (29th April, 370 A. D.).

IV

THE EMPERORS VALENTINIAN, VALENS AND GRATIAN, AUGUSTI,
TO OLYBRIUS, PRAEFECT OF THE CITY

(Note: *Sunt etiam Musis sua ludicra*—even the Muses have their relaxations—says Ausonius, Idyll 4. The discipline of the schools was severe, yet students were frequently given to diversions such as are restricted by the law which follows (Cod. Theod. Book XIV, t.9, l.1), which was passed while Ausonius himself was at court, so that it is not impossible that the hand of the famous professor may itself be traced in its provisions. This law indicates some interesting phases of student life and manners.)

All those who come to the city in the pursuit of learning should present to the master of the Census in the first place a letter from the provincial judges whose function it is to give

them permission to come. The letter will mention the towns, the birth and the merits of the individuals concerned. Thereupon, on their first entrance, they shall declare to what studies in particular they propose to devote their attention. In the third place, the office of the Censuales shall carefully take note of their residences, to ensure that they direct their endeavors towards the end which they have claimed to pursue. The Censuales shall also see that each of them behaves in conferences as men should who would avoid a shameful and dishonorable reputation, and associations which we regard as bordering upon crime; and that they should not go too often to the spectacles, nor frequent untimely banquets. Nay rather, if any one has not conducted himself in the city in such a way as the dignity of liberal studies demands, we give power that he be publicly beaten with rods, and be at once placed on shipboard and expelled from the city and return to his home. But to those who carefully devote their attention to their studies, permission is given to remain at Rome until the twentieth year of their age; but, after this time, he who shall have neglected to withdraw voluntarily shall be sent back to his country by the care of the prefect even though his education be unfinished.² But for fear that these measures should be taken in a perfunctory way, your high Sincerity is to instruct the Office of Censuales to take a note every month of the names of the students, whence they come, and which ones ought to be sent back to Africa or to other provinces because of the time of their sojourn, those only being excepted who are attached to the offices of corporations. Similar notes will be addressed every year to the archives of our Mansuetudo, in order that we may be able to know the merits and aptitudes of each, and judge how and when they will be serviceable to us. Given the fourth of the Ides of March, at Trèves, in the third consulate of Valentinian and Valens, Augusti (12th March, 370 A. D.).

² Conjecturing *imperitus* for *impurius*.

POSTSCRIPT

ROMAN CULTURE AND THE ROMAN CURRICULUM

If Rome inherited the civilization of Greece, it was not because the Roman mind was constituted like the Hellenic, but rather from the force of those circumstances which established her power throughout the Mediterranean coasts. For among the Romans there was little evidence of a natural versatility of interest, little power to elevate facts into ideals, or to construct new worlds of imagination, little disposition even to wander into untrodden paths of thought. They looked often to the practical side of life and seldom to the theoretical; their prose was the expression of legal formulae or the practical eloquence of the forum, their very poetry, until the period of so many translations from the Greek, no more than a form of worship.

In the field of *drama*, the Romans had a native form of comedy, but were indebted to the Greeks for the beginnings of tragedy. The original types of Roman comedy included the *Fescenninae* practised at rustic festivals and harvestings, the *Saturae* performed by rural clowns with music, dancing or gesticulation, and the *Mimi* or mountebank representations, scurrilous yet sententious, which held a subordinate place in literature from the period of the fall of the Republic to the final stage of imperial culture. Types of comic characters were developed in the *Atellanae*, plays of a burlesque sort, often performed as afterpieces. There was no material for the education of the young in the indigenous Roman comedy, which was not only licentious in the extreme, but written always in an undignified plebeian strain.

Roman *comedy* of the more pretentious kind was an imitation of Greek originals and applied itself to Greek subjects. From Livius Andronicus to Terence, it appears to have gained in refinement of expression rather than originality of idea. The

plays of Terence were favored by literary students of the empire, and in general the *palliata* or comedies from the Greek were studied in academic circles to the exclusion of the coarser but more national *togata* which dealt with Roman situations and characters of a more realistic, but a baser type.

Tragedy was not indigenous to Rome, but an exotic flower of Greece. At best the tragic poets were few and their genius of a secondary character. Seneca, for example, was read rather than acted; but his tragedies furnished a part of the subject-matter of literary studies under the later empire.

Epic poetry began to be used in the Roman schools under the Republic, with the Latinized version of the "Odyssey" by Andronicus. Naevius followed with a poem on the Punic war, and Ennius with an epic version of the Roman Annals. Even Cicero and Octavianus attempted the epic, while the imperial period produced Lucan's "Pharsalia," together with a host of courtly and antiquarian epics which tended to express ingenuity and scholarship rather than patriotism or feeling. Epics of the heroic rather than the historical type were usually written on Greek subjects which necessitated pedantry, imitativeness and a labored recourse to foreign mythology. These limitations were surmounted with great success by Vergil, whose "Æneid" became the standard text of grammarians, its sonorous lines being recited everywhere in the schools. In the meantime numerous Christian epics were written; but, naturally enough, they found no place in the schools as centres of pagan learning.

Certain poems, however, of a purely didactic though seldom of a religious character, were written expressly for the use of students. Some of the poems of Ausonius, such as those on the calendar, belong evidently to this class, while there were also treatises in verse upon letters, prosody, rhetoric and other subjects which might be schematized and committed to memory. Such verses were written by the grammarians of the later empire exactly in the spirit and mode which was afterwards to become common among the more enterprising mediaeval school-masters. The so-called *Disticha Catonis*, probably written previous to the period of the official adoption of the Christian religion, comprised a collection of moral sayings arranged in couplets for the use of schools and actually retained their vogue to the

end of the middle ages. But it is probable that greater attention was bestowed upon the form of poetry than its content. Scholars were practised in the use of various metres, and in the composition of imaginary epistles both in verse and prose. Towards the close of the empire considerable attention began to be paid to fables, riddles, acrostics and similar trifles; and hexameters began to be embellished with rhyme.

While *lyric poetry* was less congenial to the Roman disposition than narrative, it is clear that epigrams became extremely fashionable, while elegies were written and studied in schools as exercises in style. The mastery over poetic form appears to have increased in proportion to the diminution of inspiration and power.

Prose occupied a subordinate place in the curriculum of Roman education, as it had done with the Greeks. It had a rhetorical character, partly owing to the practical use that was attached to the command of prose; and partly, perhaps, from the influence of Cicero, who first made it worthy of study in the schools. Prose was employed in *history*, but as long as this study flourished more in the interests of rhetoric than fact, history meant little for education, although the annalists preserved many facts and traditions that were more often embodied or summarized from their several predecessors than dictated by their own experience or observation.

Antiquarian learning was not without its devotees, and Ausonius depicts for us the type of a research student who knew more about recondite studies than the history and literature of Latium. The most learned of the Romans was M. Varro, the greater part of whose work has perished. From the period of Varro, which was also that of Cicero, an academic and erudite class was rapidly developed which took possession of the schools at the same time that it sacrificed the ancient connection of theory with the practical affairs of life. Learning became the monopoly of the *grammatici*, who gave themselves largely to etymology, grammar and the making of dictionaries. The textbooks of Latin grammar by Donatus in the fourth century, and Priscian early in the sixth, retained their celebrity throughout the middle ages. The *grammatici* were critics as well as grammarians, so that as Suetonius says their business

was the emendation of texts, the discrimination of meanings, and the compilation of critical notes. They did little, however, beyond the imitation of the Greeks. Each new work on grammar embodied copious extracts from its predecessors, usually without acknowledgment, until there finally arose an incredible confusion of authorities. Meanwhile the *grammatici* taught not only etymology and grammar but also mythology in their schools. The mythology was borrowed from Greece; but the etymology might have either a Greek or a Latin basis according to the grammatical school to which the teacher happened to adhere.

Oratory, more than any other study, occupied the attention of the talented Roman youth. In politics, jurisprudence or war, oratorical skill was equally indispensable. A manual of oratory is ascribed to the elder Cato. In the words of Livy, some were carried forward to the highest offices by jurisprudence, others by eloquence, others by military glory.¹ Oratory then was recognized in the Republic and earlier Empire as a high road to advancement and fame. Cicero regretted that whereas for the Greeks it had been an end in itself, for the Romans it was but a means to success at the bar.² The youths trained in oratorical schools would begin to speak in the forum at eighteen or nineteen years of age, at times making their *début* in a funeral oration. From the time of the elder Cato it became customary for speakers to write down and publish their orations which had previously been delivered without notes. The speeches of Cicero, Quintilian and others were taken down by clerks, probably in shorthand, and published with or without the consent of the author, sometimes in garbled versions. Under these conditions the study of rhetoric in Rome was anything but the perfunctory occupation that it seems to be at the present time. It was a practical and profitable thing, frowned upon by the old-fashioned Censors (who decreed the expulsion of the rhetors from Rome in 92 B. C.), but welcomed by the ambitious youth. One reads that only four years after the decree above cited a freedman of Pompey, one Vultacilius Plotus, skilled in Latin rhetoric, had opened a school in the city. There were

¹ Livy, 39, 40.

² Cicero, *de Oratore*, 2, 55.

also numerous teachers of Greek and Asiatic oratory in Rome during and subsequent to the age of Cicero.

Under the Empire oratory became less genuine and more servile. Forced to renounce serious topics, the schools became the centre of a host of fictions. The ancients had been orators, the moderns were but rhetoricians; at least, such was the judgment of Tacitus. The Empire was never so sure of maintaining a check upon freedom of speech as after it had begun to pay the salaries of eminent professors of rhetoric, the first being Quintilian himself in the reign of Vespasian. Gaul and Africa in the third century became important centres of rhetorical study, Gaul being signalized by the skill of her professors in the manipulation of forms of style; Africa by the energy of her rhetors, including Tertullian, Arnobius, Cyprian and Augustine, in the defence of Christianity.

When a pupil had completed his task under the grammaticus he went naturally to the school of the *rhetor*, where his work began with demonstrations, and proceeded to declamations, deliberations and controversies. Controversies included case law, the subdivision of the subject, and the appeal to mitigating circumstances. But the cases cited in the schools were strangely unreal. Pliny, Petronius, Tacitus and others ridicule the questions that were accustomed to be raised and disputed, dealing with tyrants, or pirates, or the sacrifice of maidens. Contemporary politics were practically tabooed. It was the opinion of Petronius that such instruction made youths into fools. Little realism was attached even to historical debates about Sulla and Hannibal; none at all to declamations on subjects taken from Vergil, Ovid, or Homer. But the same stereotyped empty fictions continued to be treated in the time of Ausonius, the same in the days of Augustine, the same even as late as the sixth century. The subjects appointed for prose composition were no more vital than topics of debate. In particular, among the favorite exercises of the schools was the composition of fictitious letters; for example, an advanced pupil would be called upon to write a letter from Cicero to Caesar, or from Seneca to the Apostle Paul.

Fairy tales, romances and love stories were licentious and unsuitable for declamation in the schools, but as they had been

suggested even in Homer, and by the time of Ovid had come to furnish a part of the staple material of literature, they were actually employed in education to an extent difficult to determine, but certainly appreciable. The romances were at first of the nature of Greek translations, and were generally called "Milesia." The *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius were to become the prototype of a certain kind of mediaeval romance. It was alleged that the schools of the later empire were addicted more to fiction of this kind than to the books of Plato. At least it appears to have been the policy of the emperors to encourage the study of trifles in order to divert attention and criticism from the field of politics.

While the bent of the Roman mind was distinctly more practical than theoretical, and accordingly not so much addicted to *philosophy* as law, it could not escape from the influence of Greek speculation upon the constitution of the universe and the nature and destiny of man. It was unfortunate that the contact of Rome with Greece was altogether subsequent to the fiery creative epoch of Greek thought. It was but an afterglow of Greek philosophy that warmed the stubborn intellects of the Romans to attempt ambitious flights. Epicureanism, Stoicism, the Peripatetic philosophy, the New Academy, Neo-Platonism, and a degenerate form of the Pythagorean philosophy became domiciled in Rome, but were looked upon with suspicion and regarded as exercises rather than paths to objective truth. The bare shoulder and cloak of the professional philosopher were often the marks of a mere charlatan. Philosophers were actually banished from Rome by Vespasian and Domitian, but at other times they conducted their informal schools without molestation, and even with honor, so that one philosopher, Marcus Aurelius, came to occupy the throne. In the earlier imperial period Epicureanism, in the later Stoicism, was the most popular form of philosophical creed. The study of philosophy revived in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries because of the fact that the pagans were driven to its tenets in order to maintain themselves against the Christian propaganda. A last desperate attempt to preserve the ancient philosophy was made not without success in the sixth century by Boethius. His partial translation of Aristotle into Latin and his book on the "Consolations

of Philosophy" were studied in the early mediaeval schools. The opinion of Gellius as to professional philosophical teachers was that they would run and sit at the gates of wealthy youths and persuade them to waste the whole night in drinking wine, ostensibly as a vehicle, no doubt, for discussions and dialectic. The opinion of the average Roman was certainly that philosophy was irreligious, a waste of time, and a veil for mercenary motives.

Totally different was the Roman estimation of *Law*. From the earliest times the Romans had a natural genius for law and order, a shrewd practical intelligence, and a disposition to dispute any conceivable infringement on their individual or collective rights. It is declared among the Roman traditions that there were schools for reading and writing in the forum from the earliest days of the Republic; and whether this be an exaggeration or not, the origin of the custom of teaching the laws of the twelve tables to the children is lost in the same obscurity with the origin of these elementary schools. Collections of the sources of law were made as early as 204 B. C., and by degrees the habit of collecting decisions in typical cases developed a new field for study alongside the examination of the laws themselves. For law the Romans were by no means primarily indebted to Greece, and it has been remarked that the more national a Roman poet may be, the more prominent the position the law holds in his writings.² The schools of oratory were obliged to devote considerable attention to the study of jurisprudence, but the relative emphasis upon good oratory or good law appears to have varied according to the legal knowledge or conscientiousness of the teacher. A consulting lawyer learned his business by accompanying a distinguished jurisconsult and listening to his opinions. Cicero's opinion of the jurisprudence of his day is sometimes respectful but here and there contemptuous. It was not under the Republic, however, but under the later empire that Roman law attained its majority and became the chosen field of the ablest and most honorable minds. Gaius became the first professor of civil law, and began to write his "Institutions" by way of an introduction to the subject. His most notable successor was Ulpian. The codification of the laws

² History of Roman Literature, Teuffel and Schwabe, I, p. 78.

ensured their place once for all as a subject of study in the universities of the later Imperial period. Masters of law and students of law are mentioned in inscriptions, the latter with frequency.

For the purposes of this introduction, other subjects of study in the Roman schools require no more than a cursory reference. Arithmetic was taught in the schools, as is indicated by Horace, but we know little of what was done in the subject in his day, although there are some indications that the decimal system of notation may have been known much earlier than has been supposed. No advance was made upon the knowledge formerly possessed by the Greeks in arithmetic and geometry, which suffered in the estimation of scholars by their supposed alliance with astrology. The Romans were by no means the equals of the Alexandrian Greeks in mathematical attainments. Neither did they study natural history at first hand, but only from Greek texts, which were gradually corrupted and confused by the introduction of superstitious auguries and credulous allegories and fables.

The study of agriculture flourished among the Romans, but in a private and individual way, and by means of books rather than schools. Medicine was a purely Greek art, although under the later Empire the Arabic physicians had already begun to dispute the palm with the Greeks; this art also depended upon books and individual instruction but not schools. The same general status is characteristic of architecture and military science. Geography, music and astronomy were actually taught in school, but only in the first of these subjects did the Romans show any originality or tendency to add to the sum of human knowledge. The measurement of land, however, was so important from a legal and military point of view that special schools of surveying were established under the Empire, the first impulse having been given by Cæsar, who summoned Greek teachers in this field from Alexandria to Rome.⁴

⁴ For a convenient summary of the principal references in extant Roman literature to these studies consult Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, ed. London, 1900, pp. 1-97. I have drawn largely from the work of Teuffel in this postscript.



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